# CHAPTER IV

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[411] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild [262] boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

## FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

*Horses* are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif, and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
●[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanums (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

• 224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of [illegible]ion of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 134 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of I-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups, and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharumen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 41) [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever (578) collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

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at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

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4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

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5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

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6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

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7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow. 671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanums of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

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the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

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L) Ferrets:

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

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If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

224 672 685 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the disposition of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the 224 672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 183 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

L) Taboos:

224 782 784 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh, [751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 411 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

Animals

224 262 782 783 caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

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We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Republik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

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183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

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185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

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186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4



few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

## Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[4]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[5] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[6] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[4] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[6] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

### Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[112] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla.*

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[113]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[114] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitanta were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[112] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[114] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.